

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

ACDA-12 IO-13 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02 DOE-15

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R 161133Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3787

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1902

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PEPR, FI, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH REACTION TO KEKKONEN CALL FOR NORDIC NUCLEAR
WEAPON-FREE ZONE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: HELSINKI 1457

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: GOS REACTION TO PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S
MAY 8 SPEECH, AS INDEED SWEDISH MEDIA REACTION, HAS BEEN
CURIOUSLY MUTED, THE RESULT PERHAPS OF THE FACT THAT
KEKKONEN'S PROPOSAL FOR A NORDIC-SUPERPOWER TREATY EXCLUDING
THE NORDIC AREA FROM NUCLEAR CONFLICT IS SEEN HERE AS MERELY
A VARIATION OF THE 15-YEAR OLD FINNISH PROPOSAL FOR A NORDIC
NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE. PRIVATELY, GOS OFFICIALS WERE
SURPRISED AND SOMEWHAT ANNOYED THAT KEKKONEN SPRUNG HIS
LATEST PROPOSAL WITHOUT ANY ADVANCE HINT. END SUMMARY.

2. AS BACKGROUND, EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT KEKKONEN HAD A
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STANDING INVITATION TO SPEAK AT THE SWEDISH FOREIGN
POLICY INSTITUTE AND THAT HIS APPEARANCE ON MAY 8 WAS
NEGOTIATED DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE INSTITUTE'S PROGRAM
DIRECTOR, MATS LINDE, AND GOF OFFICIALS. KEKKONEN HAD
INDICATED THAT HE WOULD SPEAK ON "SMALL STATES AND
EUROPEAN SECURITY" AND HAD VOLUNTEERED THAT HE WOULD
PARTICIPATE IN A POST-SPEECH QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION.

INSTITUTE AND GOS OFFICIALS WERE THOROUGHLY SURPRISED, THEREFORE, WHEN KEKKONEN INDICATED, AFTER BEING INTRODUCED, THAT HE WOULD SPEAK ON "NORDIC SECURITY IN EUROPE AFTER CSCE" AND THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO TAKE QUESTIONS AFTER THE SPEECH.

3. GOS PUBLIC REACTION TO THE SPEECH HAS BEEN LIMITED THUS FAR TO FM SODER'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON MAY 9 (COMPLETE STATEMENT SUBJECT SEPTTEL). SHE SAID GOS SHARED KEKKONEN'S CONCERN ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. SHE RECALLED GOS STATEMENTS TO THAT EFFECT REGARDING BOTH CRUISE MISSILES AND THE PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR-ARMED SOVIET SUBS IN THE BALTIC. SHE SAID SWEDEN WAS PREPARED TO DISCUSS A NORDIC NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE PROVIDED ALL NATIONS CONCERNED WERE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE. SHE ADDED THAT ONE OF THE VITAL QUESTIONS HERE WAS HOW SUCH A ZONE WOULD BE DEMARCATED. THE GOS, SHE CONCLUDED, BELIEVES THAT ESPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO THE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALREADY EXISTING IN THE NORDIC AREA WHICH COULD BE USED AGAINST TARGETS IN THIS AREA.

4. SWEDISH MEDIA REACTION WAS SIMILARLY SHORT LIVED. DAGENS NYHETER DOUBTED THAT KEKKONEN'S NEW ATTEMPT AT A NNWFZ RPT NNWFZ WOULD BE TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY IN SWEDEN OR IN OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES, POINTING OUT THAT HIS INITIATIVE

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REQUIRES A "BALANCING ACT TOO COMPLICATED EVEN FOR HIM." SVENSKA DAGBLADET, WHILE PRAISING KEKKONEN'S OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE, SAID THAT IN THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM AREA, THE FINNISH PRESIDENT "HAS AN EXAGGERATED BELIEF IN THE SMALL COUNTRIES' ABILITY TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS" AND THAT THE NORDICS "UNHAPPILY" ARE ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE SUPERPOWERS. THE PAPER CONSIDERED SODER'S REPLY, WHILE POLITE, BOTH CRITICAL AND REJECTIVE OF THE KEKKONEN INITIATIVE. IT ECHOED SODER'S POINT THAT THE PRESENT SECURITY POLICY SYSTEM HAD SERVED PEACE AND STABILITY IN NORTHERN EUROPE WELL AND THAT ANY CHANGE REQUIRED THE UTMOST DELIBERATION, I.E., "WE KNOW WHAT WE HAVE, BUT NOT WHAT WE SHALL GET."

5. COMMENT: AS DEPARTMENT AND ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE, THE SWEDES HAVE CONSISTENTLY TAKEN A SOMEWHAT JAUNDICED VIEW OF THE KEKKONEN PLAN, NEVER REJECTING A NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE OUTRIGHT BUT ALWAYS POINTING OUT CAREFULLY THAT CRUCIAL QUESTIONS LEFT UNANSWERED BY KEKKONEN OVER THE YEARS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH:

(A) ARE ALL NORDIC COUNTRIES TO BE INVOLVED? ICELAND? GREENLAND?

(B) WHAT WOULD BE THE BOUNDARY OF SUCH A ZONE?
IN THE GOS VIEW, ALL SHORT-AND-MEDIUM RANGE
NUCLEAR MISSILES AND WEAPONS LOCATED IN THE
VICINITY OF THE ZONE WHICH COULD BE TARGETED
ON NORDIC COUNTRIES (MEANING UNDOUBTEDLY THE
LAND AREAS EAST AND SOUTH OF THE ZONE AND
WATERS WEST AND NORTH OF IT) WOULD HAVE TO BE REMOVED.

(C) BY IMPLICATION, BECAUSE OF THE NATO MEMBERSHIP
OF DENMARK, NORWAY AND ICELAND, THE AGREEMENT
WOULD HAVE TO ENJOY THE SUPPORT OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS.

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6. MFA CONTACTS ARE FRANKLY PUZZLED OVER THE FINNISH
PRESIDENT'S STOCKHOLM PERFORMANCE. PRELIMINARILY, THEY
VIEW THE SPEECH AS AN ATTEMPT BY KEKKONEN TO MARRY
HIS OLD NNWFZ PROPOSAL TO CURRENT NORDIC CONCERN OVER
CRUISE MISSILE DEVELOPMENT AND THE 600-KILOMETER LIMITATION
ON CRUISE MISSILES BEING INCORPORATED INTO THE SALT II
AGREEMENT. THEY DO NOT READILY SEE THE CONNECTION AND
WONDER OUT LOUD WHETHER KEKKONEN WAS IN THIS MARRIAGE
ATTEMPTING TO MEET OR ANTICIPATE RUSSIAN WISHES OR NEEDS.
SEVERAL FINNISH WATCHERS, HOWEVER, SPECULATE THAT KEKKONEN
IS ACUTELY AWARE OF PROBABLE NORDIC GOVERNMENT REACTION
AND ESPOUSES THE SO-CALLED KEKKONEN PLAN PERIODICALLY
PRINCIPALLY TO MAKE POINTS IN MOSCOW.

7. MFA CONTACTS ALSO FELT CONSIDERABLE ANNOYANCE
THAT THE FINNISH PRESIDENT CHOSE NOT TO CONSULT OR
INFORM THE GOS BEFORE DROPPING HIS "BOMBSHELL" IN
STOCKHOLM. THEY REGRET AS WELL THAT KEKKONEN CHOSE
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NOT TO HAVE OFFICIAL CONTACT DURING HIS BRIEF INFORMAL
VISIT. THE EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT
KEKKONEN DECLINED AN INVITATION TO DINE WITH PM FALLDIN.
UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE GOS WILL "STUDY" THE
FINNISH PROPOSAL--AS IT HAS PREVIOUS VARIATIONS--BUT
IT IS MOST UNLIKELY TO EXPEDITE AN OFFICIAL RESPONSE.
WHILE SWEDEN BOWS TO NO OTHER GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL DISARMAMENT
EFFORTS AND HAS NO INHERENT REASON TO OPPOSE CONSIDERATION
OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, THE GOS WILL NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY ANY
PLAN COVERING THE NORDIC AREA WHICH IS UNLIKELY TO ENHANCE
ITS PRESENT SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. THE KWEDES FEEL,
THE EMBASSY BELIEVES CORRECTLY, THAT THE NEW OR OLD VERSION
OF THE KEKKONEN PLAN REMAINS IN THAT CATEGORY.
KENNEDY-MINOTT

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